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ABSTRACT

This study examines how the Ontario (Canada) educational system serves Southeast Asians and West Indians. This is the most recent stage of a longitudinal study started about 16 years ago. The main purpose of the larger study is to examine the notion of curriculum as a social process of cultural selection engaged in by schools operating as the Ontario state's major agent of cultural transmission and acquisition. The 12 findings of the research reported represent the results of an extensive survey of the literature related to the under-achievement of these "visible minorities" in the school systems of Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. The study indicates that these groups have little input into the control of the curriculum process of Ontario schools. Other findings are: (1) despite the initiatives taken by most boards of education and the Ontario Ministry of Education in the area of multicultural education, the concept of anti-racist education has not been attended; (2) because of the failure of multicultural education to move society to the position of equity, the Ontario Ministry of Education is involved in preparing a provincial race relations (anti-racist) educational policy for all; (3) policymaking which would seek to eliminate any kind of racial, cultural, or sexual harassment in the schools has not been addressed; (4) education authorities have not conceded the limitations of multicultural education in the matter of staff development; (5) school-community relations are a one-sided flow from the school to the community, but not from the community to the school; (6) leadership continues to be defined from a Euro-Canadian perspective; (7) curriculum development and implementation are still matters which exclude visible minorities; (8) teacher and teacher training programs are inadequate for the multi-racial classroom; (9) guidance counselors have not been able to respond meaningfully to the visible minority student; (10) most boards of education and even the Ministry of Education itself have no policies or programs to guide personnel in responding to racial incidents; (11) cultural diversity and the implication for cognitive styles have not begun to receive the serious attention which a society preaching multiculturalism should display; and (12) the education system has legitimated minority exclusion from the labor market altogether in times of high unemployment. (BZ)

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REPRODUCING VISIBLE-MINORITY EXCLUSION FROM THE ONTARIO SCHOOL CURRICULUM: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES

by

HARRY S. HAUGHTON, Ed. D.

Abstract

Ethnography is the work of describing a culture. Its central aim is to understand another way of life from the native point of view. The major goal of ethnography is to grasp the "native's" lived point of view, his/her relation to life; to experience their experience of life and their vision of their world. It involves a rigorous and perpetual examination and re-examination of fieldwork processes (e.g., taking fieldnotes) and consequently producing "grounded theory" regarding the phenomena being studied.

This study explores the culture of the educational systems serving Southeast Asians and West Indians. From the "native" perspectives of Education Officers at the Ministry of Education and Superintendents and subject Co-ordinators at eleven Boards of Education in Southern Ontario, it reports findings from a longitudinal study, the earlier part of which was successfully presented and defended as the author's doctoral dissertation (University of Toronto, 1984). The twelve findings reported here represent the results of post-doctoral work involving an extensive survey of the literature related to the under-achievement of these "visible minorities" in the school systems of Britain, the United States, and Canada.

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In seeking to articulate what seems to constitute an indictment of the educational systems of Ontario which are centrally regulated by the provinces's Ministry of Education, care must be taken not to lose sight of the broader goal of placing the observed inequities within the context of a blueprint for collective action. Outlining the Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Feire (1974) argues that education is oppressive when it is planned and transmitted about target groups, for target groups, but never in equal partnerships with those groups. At the same time that Friere's concern regarding the construction and operation of equal partnerships, is infinitely worthy of support, it must be submitted that members of those target groups cannot just sit back and point the accusing finger. Theirs, equally, is a task of working alongside those who would make intervention on their behalf. This paper is to be regarded as one such collaborative effort in seeking to acquaint ourselves even better with the exclusion problematique as perceived from one angle of target group reception.

The research to be reported here is therefore intended not so much to add to the documentation of inequities experienced by the so-called visible minorities in Ontario schools. The intent here is indeed to document one other area of exclusion, but also to argue the linkages to broader curricular areas, and in that context to outline what may be accepted as remedial strategies. The nature of the investigation reported here might justify its description as an exploration in the politics of school educational knowledge. The roots of the study may be seen to lie deep within the author's first experiences in a Canadian classroom and the inconsistencies which emerged from his previously held notions about the efficacy of music for promoting human communication. Questions that arose were in response to the commonly held beliefs regarding music being a

universal language. Observing the nature of what counted as "knowledge" in school music as orginating from -- and being supervised by - The Ministry of Education, the author began to see disparities between the combination of working class status, immigrant status and the stabilized middle class nature of the Canadian classroom. An acceptance of the premise of the universality of music for human communication and a belief in the Canadian school's claim to eclecticism, made the author's expectation of the inclusion of the musics in the school curriculum of these people accepted as immigrants seem justified. A careful search yielded no such realities.

One of the effects of this was what was previously observed among immigrant students in Britain and the United States and described in the literature (e.g., Keddie, 1973, Pleasants, 1969) as a culture clash between the teacher and the taught. According to Vulliamy (1975) in order to preserve the rigid hierarchy between them, the culture of the pupils had to be regarded as "deprived" or "deficient". Linking this to issues of language and communication among immigrant students in the schools of the receiving countries, the explanation of failure of the predominantly "working class" pupils placed all the emphasis on the characteristics of those who failed, rather than considering also the nature of what they failed at. It is very often necessary to look at the social assumptions underpinning teachers' definitions of "knowledge" and "ability" in the context of interactions in the classroom. My study of music processes was therefore not about music. It was about one of the subject areas through which school "knowledge" was transmitted to -- and acquired by -- students. It was an investigation of the rigid distinction between subject-based knowledge and that which may be described as "everyday" or "out-of-school"

knowledge. Subject-based knowledge is descriptive of the culture of the school. Everyday out-of-school knowledge is the culture of the students as they acquire identities in their out-of-school world. This identity is a form of culture which is, moreover, not left in the out-of-school world, but brought to school with them. This in large measure accounts for the phenomenon described as a culture clash between immigrant children and the receiving society's schools. In this regard it is important to note the fact that Canadian born racial minorities face similar distancing from Canadian school norms on issues such as streaming and assessment, linguistic and other "communicative" competencies, and their wider location in the curriculum and philosophies of education which select, prepare, transmit and legitimize the culture of the school.

Before proceding to a description of the direct study reported here, it must be made clear that although it investigatged phenomena usually associated with school music, it was more about curriculum and its attendant issues of culture and race than it was about "music" as music. The nuance of departure has an apt analogy to the concept of "road" as it would be a symbol containing meaning for the civil engineer in its construction and for a pre-schooler whose primary meaning for the same concept lies totally in the fact that road mediates the experiences which happen between the home and the official playground. A person who makes a living from building roads certainly has a different semantic content and experience of the term than does someone for whom it is mainly part of the environment in which one may test and evaluate the acceleration potentials of their new car. The aim here is to show that while music is regarded primarily as a good entertainment vehicle, it acts on a higher psychic level within a tonal-

functional framework which serves as a symbolic code for the social structure within which we live. Functional-tonal music (the paradigm employed by "serious" music) has one note, the key-note, which is more important than all the other notes. These others, in their turn, have a stratified order of importance. This hierarchy of "fundamentals" (fundamental notes) has been projected by sociologists of education as being a parallel of the hierarchical nature of our own society. As people in modern industrial society have difficulty in relating to one another through the centrally controlled - and distantly controlled -- filters of the workplace and the marketplace,so the individual notes of the harmonic-rhythmic framework can relate to one another only insomuch as their significance is mediated through the central, distanced control of the key-note. Alienation of self by a central and remote controlling power thus finds musical expressionn through the alienation of the individual notes of the harmonic-rhythmic framework by the keynote. (Shepherd, 1983).

Let us apply this analysis of the dynamics of conventional music notation (as we know it and transmit it through schools) to society in general. Virden and Wishart (1977) argue that social theorists have long been aware that participation in the ownership and control of material or intellectual property creates a different relation to the world and a different interest from the non-participation of people who can only sell their labour power. The profit-motivated "efficient" division of labour has rationally separated functional communities according to the dictates of an industrial technology and market. Schematically, there are those whose function is ownership and control, and an intellectual, abstract operation upon the world. There are also those dispossessed from their material

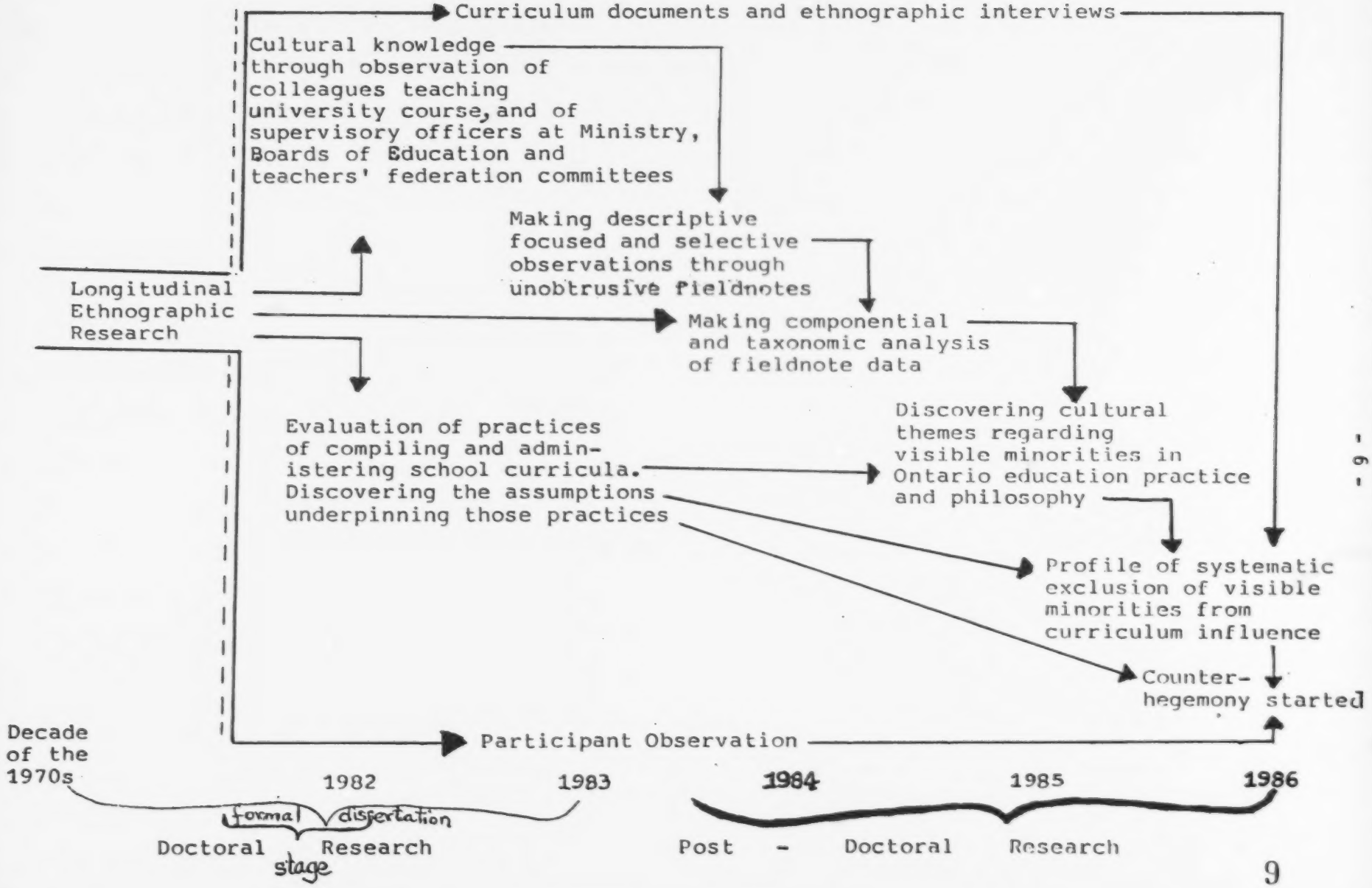
products and from their own potential of consciousness and decision, who labour according to the dictates of those with authority over them.

In essence, then, this paper seeks to articulate the distinction between "high" culture (and those who bear it) and commodified or "pop" culture and those who bear it. In the process of the acquisition of culture, silent and invisble forces operate. These forces are all pervasive and usually, therefore, not brought to the level of verbal analysis. The Canadian state mechanisms are engaged in the selective and sanctifying mode of cultural infusion and legitimation. This being the ease, the marginal status which music seems to have as a division of the school's formal curriculum when compared with the high status of academic knowledge, is seen to function for the disguised reproduction of an exclusionist ideology. This is nicely captured and expressed by Titley and Miller (1982) who argue that the role of the Canadian school in the socialization process provides an important means whereby a society can produce members who are willing to conform to a social order that serves the interests of the dominant social group. This is so because effective control of school systems -- the power to determine curriculum content and the power to certify/decertify teachers -- are invariably vested in the hands of this group (p. 1)

The Study

The study being reported here is in actual fact the most recent stage of a longitudinal study started about 16 years ago. The main purpose of the larger study has been to examine the notion of curriculum as a social process of cultural selection engaged in by schools operating as the Ontario state's major agent of cultural transmission and acquisition. Earlier bits of data provide evidence with which to "ground" the theory that visible

RESEARCH FLOW CHART


Curriculum documents and ethnographic interviews
Cultural knowledge through observation of colleagues teaching university course, and of supervisory officers at Ministry, Boards of Education and teachers' federation committees
Making descriptive focused and selective observations through unobtrusive fieldnotes
Longitudinal Ethnographic Research
Making componential and taxonomic analysis of fieldnote data
Discovering cultural themes regarding visible minorities in Ontario education practice and philosophy
Evaluation of practices of compiling and administering school curricula. Discovering the assumptions underpinning those practices
Profile of systematic exclusion of visible minorities from curriculum influence
Counter-hegemony started
Participant Observation
Decade of the 1970s
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
formal
dissertation
Doctoral Research stage
Post - Doctoral Research

minority Canadians are not socialized to have a feeling of shared ownership of curriculum. This was shown to account for the fact that for those visible minorities studied (i.e., Southeast Asians and West Indians) curriculum guidelines are imposed and thus function mainly as rules to be followed.

Using the specificity of one subject area (viz. school music) the study found that even at the level of visible minority teachers who may be exceptions to the rule of non-promotion characteristic of the Canadian school systems, any promotion granted is almost invariably to a lower-order position. One result of that is that the person so promoted has no real meaningful influence upon what becomes curriculum at the level of the document/guideline, despite the administrators' being then able to point to that promotion as evidence of system fairness.

Methodology

Largely a Participant Observation ethnography, the study was designed to produce what Glaser and Strauss (1967) discuss as "grounded theory". At the same time there was triangulation of design to produce "quantitative" statistical data as well. There were "formal" as well as "informal" instances of data gathering. Each situation in which he found himself since first being sensitized to the need to formalize the research became a potential data gathering site. Two large journals of general (then interpretive) observations were compiled from fieldnotes which he took. For a much better outline of the method one may read McCall and Simmons (1969) Becker (1951, 1961, 1970; West (1977), Denzin (1970, 1978), Spradley (1980), and Haughton (1983).

Among some of the sites for data collection were those situations in

which he was a "natural" participant engaging in interaction expected in each those settings. Sites at which he was hitherto unknown to the participants observed, and at which it was clear to them that they were being studied, were visited during the period 1980 - 1982 and again on an intermittent basis since 1983. These have included:

(1) Central and regional offices of the Ministry of Education where he has analyzed documents such as curriculum guidelines in Music, English, Science, ESL/D, Math, and other subject areas, and where he has interviewed and re-interviewed twelve (relevant) education officers, returning to re-check and clairfy emerging data,

(2) Eleven Co-ordinators in each of the subject areas mentioned above and two superintendents with special responsibilities for program/curriculum in each of those boards, also returning there to clarify and re-check his interpretation of data gathered there, and

(3) Three special school for "the arts" in the Greater Toronto area, returning there between 20 and 35 times as have been thought necessary, for reasons as in 1 and 2 above. The research flow chart (on page 6) gives a diagramatic outline of the temporal as well as qualitative dimensions of the research process.

The extended period over which the data was collected allowed for detailed and extensive probing of information sources pertinent to the production and implementation of the relevant curriculum guidelines. There were, for example, repeated visits to the sites of "formal" data collection. The quality of the relationships that have developed as a result of the initial contacts and the informal filling in of data gleaned from more

formal situational deliberations led him to believe that all pertinent data sources have been exhausted and that nothing essentially new will be gained from further probing. In other words, each formal interview contact has resulted in at least another 5 or so meetings on much more relaxed bases, where discrepancies generated by formal interviews have been probed, re-tested and clarified for exact meaning in these less formal contacts. For a more detailed outline of methodological issues of this longitudinal research one may consult Haughton (1984: 68 - 107). There one may also find information on the application of both the "comparison group" and "analytic induction" methods of formally analyzing ethnographic data collected through "theoretical sampling".

Discussison

Since the data documenting the cultural exclusion of visible minorities from the officially investigated area of school knowledge (music education) was reported as the author's doctoral dissertation (University of Toronto, 1983), the discussion here will centre around the research conducted back in the field since that time. Table 1 (on the next page) attempts to illustrate and summarize the exclusion from influential positions even when some do find employment commensurate with their academic qualifications as was presented as one thrust of the earlier research. Since the author has continued to work in music education (for the most part), it has not been possible to continue the ethnographic documentation inside of other subject areas of the education system in Ontario.

The literature on issues related both to multiculturalism and to anti-racism in education in Canada, in Britain, and in the U.S.A. does reveal a number of curriculum related areas in which the underachievement and

Table 1. Distribution of Co-ordinator of Music and Consultant/ Resource Teacher Positions in the Boards Studied, by Ethnic Group Visibility and Sex

		Position: High — Co-ordinator	Position: Low — Consultant/Resource Teacher
(1976)			
Charter	Male	9	5
	Female	2	28
Visible Minority	Male	0	2
	Female	0	3
	Total	11	38
(1983)			
Charter	Male	9	3
	Female	2	23
Visible Minority	Male	0	0
	Female	0	0
	Total	11	26
(1986)			
Charter	Male	9	4
	Female	2	18
Visible Minority	Male	0	0
	Female	0	0
	Total	11	22

Note that no Co-ordinator is from outside charter groups, and even then the vast majority are males. Despite the decline in lower-order positions, the one appointment in 1986 table is again to a charter group male. Visible minorities have no higher-order positions

inordinately high failure of visible minority students are well documented. It is in these areas that the study has concentrated since the 1983 point. Some of the areas mentioned as problematic include issues relating to:

1. Assessment and placement of visible minority students
2. Guidance and Counselling
3. Parent Involvement and School Relations
4. Affirmative action for racial minorities

The typical image of the West Indian as a laughing, smiling, carefree, sports-loving, calypso-singing, steel-band-playing, rum drinking, high carousing individual coming from a loose family network of illegitimacy and bastardy, is one that is perpetuated by cheap West Indian novels, tourist brochures and the imaginative yearnings of tourist yarns and sagas (Anderson and Grant, 1975). Similar images of East Indians as exotic, sari or turban wearing, reserved or prattling, curry-eating and funny-singing are not hard to come by. The so-called "Third World" countries from which these people come to Canada were once developed and drained by Europeans who saw them primarily as sources of raw materials. All technological and industrial developments were "brought home" to mother countries. With their countries' economy thus improverished and the subsequent granting of (spurious) independence to these regions, residents of these exploited lands could no longer satisfy their needs for even basic subsistence livelihoods and some sought to migrate. Over the last hundred years or so this pattern has become increasingly intensified as unskilled, low-paying jobs have opened-up in the mother countries. As these people have either brought their children with them or started families in the new host countries, their status as job seekers has changed to that of "native-born" in many cases. For all parties

to the new game plan of social inte?raction, the colonial experience prepared the perceptions, expectations, attitudes and behaviours which underscore the statistics on the achievement of each group in schools as well as in the adult job market.

It is therefore not surprising to have to report the following general findings regarding the lack of control or ownership in the curriculum process of Ontario schools for visible minorities.

1. Despite the initiatives taken by most boards of education and the Ontario Ministry of Education in the area of multicultural education, the concept of anti-racist education has not been attended. The result is that multicultural education can now be dichotomized into a racist multicultural education and an anti-racist multicultural education. Some practices of multicultural education seem to promote racism and the increased control of visible minorities than the liberation of all players (including those who still depend upon racist attitudes and discriminatory behaviours for their own sense of importance). The nature and context of Canadian racism is documented in hundreds of academic studies, government reports, and public reports and surveys.
2. Because of the failure of multicultural education to move society to the position of equity which was the aim of multiculturalism as made official social policy for Canada some fifteen years ago, the Ontario Ministry of Education is involved this very minute in preparing a provincial race relations (anti-racist) educational policy for all schools and personnel under its jurisdiction.
3. Given the failure to come to terms with the limitations of multicultural education, policy-making which would seek to guarantee

3. continued....

all Ontarians freedom for any kind of racial, cultural or sexual harassment in schools has not addressed these areas of social concourse. There has therefore not operated - at any level - policy making for schools predicated on the need to make sure that the child whose life the policy maker influences is (by official policy) dealt with in his or her own racial and cultural context. Discriminatory treatment is a fact of life for many students and teachers as employees of boards of education, but the eradication of (or response to) these acts is still inaccessible to official policy initiatives. Learning outcomes are greatly a?ffected by the allocation and distribution of resources that are established by policy.

4. Because of the denial of racist education practices, education authorities have not conceded the limiations of - and gaps left by- multicultural education in the matter of staff development. It would seem to qualify as commonsense knowledge to point out that combatting racism in our society requires the acknowledgement, understanding, co-operation, and active participation of all staff. There is a massive need for initial and in-serve training of teachers, principals, superintendents, directors of education, trustees, custodial staff and all who interact in the environment within which the child experiences life today and in which tomorrow's citizens are prepared.

5. School - Community relations experience a one-sided flow from the school out, but almost nothing moving in the other direction. Many studies have shown repeatedly that when community people define community issues in ways that are understood by them and represent

5. continued.....

their concerns, much more positive interactions with schools take place. Because of differences in the defintions of "appropriate" interaction with their schools, many immigrant Third World parents are ascribed blame for a pattern of school interaction which is intended to show respect for the expertise and authority of school personnel, but wrongly judged to be indicative of disrespect or non-caring.

6. Leadership - the matter of "getting things done through other people"- continues to be defined from a Euro-Canadian perspective, and not enough attention is paid to definitions of leadership in their cultural context. The study found that "other" people in the defintion of leadership above refers to people with worldviews and physical characteristics similar to those currently holding leadership positions. This replicates the findings in Porter (1965 - The Vertical Mosaic) and Olsen (1980: 46) that when choosing their successors, Canadian administrators tend to perpetuate the system of structural inequality by choosing someone very much like themselves.

7. Curriculum development and implementation are still matters which exclude visible minorities. Curriculum materials do not appropriately reflect the multiracial society that is Canada today. This being the case, images of minorities and their history and concerns as bona fide citizens of Canada should be portrayed from their cultural perspectives and not just from the evaluative, interpretive and frequently judgemental stances of those who write, censor or endorse curriculum materials for schools. Current practices do not allow or even encourage visible minority members of the educational community to

7. continued....

question, examine, and apply knowledge, abilities and commitments toward the creation of a society that respects and allows people to potentiate themselves fully.

8. Teachers and teacher training programs have not been given the knowledge, skills and resources necessary to function effectively in a multi-rcial environment at large and in multi-racial classrooms in particular. There is a great need for improvement in teacher-training at all levels to help them understand and cope with racism and the assumptions of their own culture which prepares them for active participation in racist education without knowing it. Teachers need to be given the potential to explain the nature of racism from historical and conflictual perspectives to current and future practices and policies.

9. Guidance counsellors - despite earnest desires to be supportive, directional and equity-oriented - have not been able to respond meaningfully to the profound importance of their position to the student body in general and to the visible minority student in particular in the matter of anti-racist multicultural education. In this, board of education budgets and priorities have been shown as largely culpable. Hiring and promotional policies and practices for guidance counsellors reveal an enormous gap between the reality and reasonable goals. Guidance counsellors do not, as a rule, even think it necessary to learn any of the languages of the many minority students who most need to communicate with them. Usually the thrust for language acquisition places the onus on the student to acquire as

9. continued....

fast as possible the ability to communicate in the guidance counsellor's language. There are (so far as this study has been able to unearth), no formal policy requirements even by the Ministry of Education (as a central authority supervising education in the province) that those who aspire to the position of guidance counsellor should include in their academic qualification some evidence of proficiency in even one of the so-called "heritage" languages.

10. Most boards of education and even the Ministry of Education itself have no policies or programs in place to guide personnel in responding to racial incidents on their precincts. Although the right to equal treatment is guaranteed by the Ontario Human Rights Code (OHRC) it is not rigorously enforced by school systems, although most writers suggest its enforcement to be one of the prime responsibilities of the schools. Whether intended or not, racial incidents are a form of harassment likely to cause hurt, humiliation, shame, and anger. These socially disruptive and psychologically destructive phenomena should not be tolerated by educational systems, but boards and schools that do not actively take steps to combat these may appear to be non-caring or providing for such harassment of students who receive such abuse, since Ontario law requires all school-aged children to be in attendance every day. The perpetration of racial incidents may have to be accepted by the school as part of its (unintended) curriculum, since the official definition of "curriculum" proposed by the Ministry in EPJD and again in OS:IS is "all those experiences of the student for which the school is responsible". By failing to provide formal mechanisms/guidelines

10. continued....

for dealing with racial incidents, both the Ministry and the Boards of Education may indeed be forced to accept responsibility for allowing that form of harassment of students. Not only is there a need for formal and appropriate mechanisms, but these must be clearly communicated to everyone in the school system across the province.

11. Cultural diversity and the implication for cognitive styles has not begun to receive the serious attention which a society cognizant of cultural diversity and preaching multiculturalism should display. Although research has demonstrated very high correlations between "cultural contexts" and "cognition", for example, this is not evident in the schools of Ontario.[15] The culture of the Ontario school curriculum is maybe a little more liberal than that described by Martell in 1974, but still "assimilationist" or "Anglo-conformist". Studies done as recently as 1985 still show an Anglo-Canadian bias in the Ontario School curriculum. There is a crying need for research that would inform the serious concerns regarding cultural diversity and cognitive styles. If indeed the culture experienced during the child's formative years helps to determine cognitive styles and orientations to organizing consciousness, then although the Canadian school administrators and boards of education may wish (or be able) to do nothing about them, that fact should none-the-less be the focus of much serious academic research at the level of classrooms.

12. The education system, by facilitating "visible minority" academic failure, has not only legitmated the exclusion of these groups from all but the more menial forms of wage labour in adult life, but even then

12. continued.....

schools will have occasioned and legitmated their exclusion from the labour market altogether as continued rates of high unemployment and and increased technology in economic production become lived realities. Issues such as wrong or misguided assessment and placement of these students in Ontario classrooms are issues of reproduction of an uneven and discriminatory economic future. This is stated as the correspondence theory of social and economic relations and is one of the most crucial issues to be addressed by anti-racist education in Ontario schools.

Conclusion

What we have essentially examined here is the culture of the Ontario school curriculum which itself reflects and reifies the culture of the Ontarian/Canadian state as it relates to the social stratification of the society. What this study has shown is that despite recent proclamations by those in educational circles about increased equality of opportunity, there has not been a sufficiently rigorous examination of <u>what counts as "having an opportunity".</u> For a situation to be an "opportunity" for something, it must be a facilitator toward the realization of that thing. We would not, for example count the colour of walls between green schools and brown schools as an inequality in opportunity unless we agreed that the colour of walls had something to do with school achievement. There is now a large body of knowledge relating to the underachievement of visible minorities in the schools of Canada, Britain, and the U.S.A. which links their documented underachievement to their unequal ability of influence over the curricula of

schools. This has been coming to light as relevant only as some of the minority communities themselves have begun to initiate the kind of research that calls into question some of the previously held common-sense notions of visible minority underachievement in the schools of late monopoly capitalist industrial societies.

The characterizing feature of the twelve major findings outlined above as constituting a grounded theory of visible minority relations in the Canadian educational hierarchy is their indictment of the curriculum processes of exclusion perpetrated in schools. On a broader level, the findings explicate features of the social relations of work in adult Canadian society. As in the office or the factory, policy production and decision-making are done at the top and executed at the bottom even for non minority workers. People at the middle levels are responsible for changing policies into specific tasks and policing the execution of such tasks by their sub-ordinates. This work arrangement soon sets up severe competition between workers for salary differences (also a hierarchy) and job promotions.

Under the correspondence principle of social relations those features of the adult world are replicated daily in schools and their isomorphic structures. There are similar hierarchical relations among the school board, administration, teacher and students. The school is very often therefore described as a "mirror" of the social relations between management and worker in the the corporate hierarchy. The reward for work done by students (the corollary of "workers" in the adult world of work) takes the form of grades and class level promotions. The "division of labour" of the adult world is matched by both the "fact" and the "attribution" of value to

academic areas of specialization. This division of the formal curriculum into behavioural objectives provides a very credible and forceful symbolic analogue with the world of work outside (and after) schooling. This functions to add to the explanatory power of the correspondence theory of social relations.

Multicultural education as it has been interpreted and practised in many educational systems in Canada over the last 15 years has demonstrated considerable gaps in its theorizing and weaknesses in its application, although at the beginning it was seen as the most appropriate response to the needs of the diverse reality of Canadian society. It was, however, the federal government of Canada that first advocated and then legislated multiculturalism as official social policy. The trouble was that education was - and still is - administered by Provincial governments. These provinces have in turn accepted the philosophy of multiculturalism some time after the federal announcement on October 8, 1971. Some provinces have not yet officially endorsed multiculturalism as official social policy.

In addition to these differences in response to multiculturalism by various provincial governments, even those who endorse the concept have tended to dismiss or undervalue the importance of the different stages of acculturation that immigrant groups experience as they attempt to adapt to the host society. On another level, teachers and school administrators (who were in most cases from the mainstream cultures) have been expected to communicate curriculum content from highly complex cultures to students from cultures characterized by differences in cognitive styles without trivializing, marginalizing and misappropriating the information as well as the receptivity. Performance by those students was thus mis-evaluated, with

the consequence that a whole range of pupil assessments, placements and miseducation affected those students and thus also affected a vital and dynamic dimension of Canadian society.

People of colour (visible minorities) moreover, experience these facts as significant barriers preventing them from achieving equal access and full participation in schools and broader arenas of life in Ontario. There would seem to be an urgent need for anti-racist educational policies which, when fully implemented, will dismantle the barriers not overcome under multicultural education thus far, and foster the full development of the full human potential of each citizen of the province as a definitive and irrevocable contributing reality in any interpretation or symbolization of "Canadian society".

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